


In fact

For The Millions Who Want a Free Press

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FDR's Anti-Labor Radio Roar

IT is possible that newspaper editors never listen to the radio. When the President spoke Saturday night before the White House Correspondents Assn forty or fifty million listening Americans heard as the climax of his speech a tremendous anti-labor roar from the assembled 900 stiffshirts.

When Roosevelt said the words "unnecessary strikes" the tumult about equalled one of Hitler's insults to democracy at the Berlin Sportspalast. The speech was interrupted. Wealth and power yelled themselves hoarse.

There was no mention of this in the newspapers.

For New Republic Readers

THE New Republic (Feb 24) mentioned a Saturday Evening Post item saying that the Lockheed Aircraft Co and other defense industries require job applicants to answer 318 questions. "The questions seem innocent enough but are said to be infallible in detecting warped mentalities," said SatEvePost. Said the New Republic: "Has any reader ever seen a copy of it? We'd enjoy having one."

IN FACT is pleased to oblige. California job applicants are given a physical test, have their fingerprints checked by FBI, and answer the questionnaire in presence of an examiner with a stopwatch. Dangerous thoughts are out in many parts of America, just as they are in Japan. Here are some of the 318 questions:

1. Do you like to meet people and make new friends?
16. Do you frequently find yourself worrying about something?
29. When you hear a good story do you usually pass it on?
48. Do you dislike having to rush in your work?
109. Do you feel certain in your own mind that there is only one true religion?
129. Have you ever walked in your sleep?
183. Do you believe that majority rule is the best thing for society?
270. Do you sometimes wish people would let you alone and not pry into your personal beliefs, ambitions or problems?

The last of these "innocent" questions may be intended as irony.

Library Kicks Out the Public

ON March 15 the NY Public Library closed its newspaper reading room, where much of IN FACT's information has been compiled. Bound volumes of newspapers have been transferred to the West 25th St annex, where they can be consulted by 38 persons at one time who have secured the proper passes from the library's board of trustees. Current newspapers have been discontinued. No provision has been made for the 700 people

Roosevelt, Martin Dies, Press, Unite in Anti-Labor Campaign; New Yorkers Denounce Press as Enemy

THE two most important facts about the labor situation in America today are:

1. The united attack on organized and unorganized labor by the Administration, the Dies Committee, poll-tax Congressmen and the press, which propose draft of labor, forced mediation, anti-strike legislation and other Hitlerian ideas.

2. The realization by labor that the press is one of labor's greatest enemies.

In the great steel strike of 1919 Pittsburgh's Gazette-Times, Chronicle-Telegraph, Post, Sun, Dispatch, Leader and Press were found guilty of corruption and perversion by the Interchurch World Movement headed by Bishop Francis J McConnell. All Pittsburgh papers faked the news, distorted it, or suppressed it. The strike was defeated (said the final report) by the hostility of the press.

At the end of the Seattle longshoremen's strike Christy Thomas, of the Chamber of Commerce, declared the business men's advertising in newspapers "completely changed public sentiment . . . this advertising laid the foundation in the public mind for forceful measures."

The San Francisco general strike of 1934 was broken by the press. Editor & Publisher (July 28) headlined: DAILIES HELP BREAK GENERAL STRIKE.

New York Press Employs Strikebreaking Formula

The Mohawk Valley Formula, union-busting program invented by James Rand, is no good without newspapers. It is based on the opening of a struck plant by strikebreakers and troops. Usually troops can't be called into an industrial community unless there is violence or unless the public is convinced that the strikers are subversive or Fifth Columnists and that is where the newspapers come in.

Last week in NY a big corporation, the press and public figures went through the motions of applying the Mohawk Valley Formula to the Transport Workers Union, but they failed miserably because of the unity and determination of the strikers and the whole-hearted support of the NY labor movement.

When the transport workers struck two NY bus lines Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia called them "bullheaded, obstinate and stupid," enabling the NYTimes to start its editorial attacking the strikers, "Any labor group that deliberately alienates public opinion by refusing to consider the mediation offer of a demonstrated friend of labor, such as the Mayor has proved himself to be, injures not merely its own cause but the larger cause of all organized labor." Despite the Times' concern for the interests of organized labor, the issues of the strike were simple: wage increases, a shorter work week than 56 hours, longer vacations. The bus company, which makes more than \$2,000,000 a year, was able to afford an estimated \$50,000 in newspaper advertising announcing that it couldn't afford wage increases.

The Press Blames the Workers

The company's tactics were evident in its first full page ad, which it placed in all NY papers taking advertising: "IF YOU HAD TO WALK TODAY BLAME THE TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION." PM, which had been seeking to recover prestige with the CIO, which disapproved of its attack on John L Lewis (IN FACT, Dec 30), put its whole labor staff on the story, supported the strikers belligerently, and attacked the other papers for trading editorials for ads. Every paper in NY but PM and Daily Worker ran editorials against the transport workers. The Sun called openly for action to break the strike. The Herald Tribune and the News jumped their bus strike stories to pages facing the company's ad. According to a reliable report reaching IN FACT, the ad was written by Steve Hannagen, well-known press agent, and was placed by Buchanan & Co., advertising agency in which John Hertz Jr is a director. John Hertz Sr is chairman of the exec com of Omnibus Corp, holding company of the struck bus lines.

The strikers issued leaflets answering the ad: "IF YOU HAD TO WALK TODAY BLAME JOHN A RITCHIE" (\$65,000-a-year board chairman of the bus company). The Times ran the full text of the leaflet. PM ran it as a page ad, free. The News, HT, Post and Telegram ran 2 paragraph summaries at the end of long stories. The Mirror, Sun and Journal-American didn't run it at all.

PM Backs CIO Union: Exposes Post, Times

Apologists for the commercial press may claim that the \$50,000 the company spent on advertising did not affect policy, that it is merely a coincidence that in 50 years of labor disputes newspapers taking advertising money support the corporations which supply it.

PM turned the tables on the Post. Under David Stern's ownership the Post frequently exposed the venality of its colleagues. When the self-styled liberal Post along with the reactionary and frequently pro-fascist Sun, Times, Herald Tribune, World-Telegram and Hearst's Mirror and Journal-American accepted the bus ads, PM said: "We're sorry that the liberal [sic] Post, with which we agree more often than we don't, accepted and printed this one. This ad was the first big gun in the campaign to break the bus strike."

The reader should note that the second series of full page ads quoting five newspaper editorials under the head: "WHY ARE YOU WALKING TODAY? READ THE ANSWER IN THE NY NEWSPAPERS," could not quote the editorials without permission. The Times once refused a Loyalist Spain group permission to reprint an editorial. The Mirror, Post, Sun, World-Telegram and News in granting permission and taking money, made themselves party to a strikebreaking scheme.

Dies as Usual Rushes Into Print

Chairman Dies of the Un-American committee found the NY strike a good way to get into print again. On the second day of the strike he issued a statement warming over the stale redbaiting testimony of three expelled stool pigeons who were brought to Washington to testify two years ago when the TWU was at a delicate stage in negotiations with subway companies. It was no surprise when all the afternoon papers gave the Dies statement streamer headlines. The Sun, more enterprising, dug up a similar statement from Queens Borough President George U Harvey, who believes in using rubber hose on strikers.

Newspaper Men Disgusted by Press and Mayor

At strike meetings every mention of the press was exuberantly booed. The Mirror man nervously asked for a bodyguard. Austin Hogan, chairman of the NY local, interrupted a demonstration against the Mirror by saying: "Most working newspapermen are members of the Guild, which is part of the CIO. Our resentment, our just resentment, should not be turned against our working brothers but against the bloated bankers and capitalists, who own these newspapers." A meeting of the Representative Assembly of the NY Newspaper Guild, without dissent, passed the following resolution: "Whereas we as newspaper men familiar with the manner in which strikes are covered, realize what actions by public officials are employed in the press as best serving the interests of the employers . . . be it resolved that we most strongly urge Mayor LaGuardia to exercise the full measure of his influence to persuade the management of these two companies to negotiate with the TWU in good faith, and that if he can not see his way clear to doing that, he at least cease his hostility toward the TWU and observe an attitude of strict impartiality." One Guild official described the disgust of a Guildsman covering the strike for an opposition paper when he found all references to the strikers' demands cut out of his story and a day old quote from Mayor LaGuardia inserted in the lead.

At a mass meeting March 16 President Hogan of NY local said: "The enemy press will never smash the union. We never knew till now there could be such a symphony of hate for the laboring man as newspapers, controlled by big money, have shown in this strike."

Speaking of the NY publishers, international sec'y-treasurer John Santo said: "These people are itching and aching to see the streets of New York run wild with blood of workers. . . . They are trying to defeat the American way of life, a decent standard of living."

Quill said if the mayor employed scabs "the operation of buses with scabs can result only in trouble . . . we do not want any trouble to come to the public." The Hearst Mirror published a completely false story headlined "QUILL VOWS 'TROUBLE' IF BUS LINES RESUME." Strikers used the short and ugly word "liar" for Mirror story. Other papers reported Quill correctly in news columns but continued to attack him editorially.

Curran on the Press

Joe Curran, vice president of the CIO and president of the NY Industrial Union Council, tells IN FACT:

"As long as the bus drivers were content to work long hours for low wages we never heard a peep out of anybody about their being 'Communists.' The minute they want a 48 instead of a 56 hour week, the instant they want \$20 instead of \$18 a week, then the bus companies and the press begin to yell 'Red.'"

"The bus strike has completely exposed the metropolitan press as an employer weapon. With one or two exceptions NY newspapers all came out openly on the side of the bus companies. The real issue—wages, hours and working conditions—were almost completely ignored. Editorials and news stories hammered incessantly on the Red issue, an issue totally extraneous and foreign to the strike."

who have been in the habit of using the newspaper room daily.

This action is in keeping with the history of the library, which in recent years has shown less and less concern for the New York public. Few people who consult its inadequate supply of books realize that it is run by a private, self-perpetuating board of trustees over whom the city, which provides the bulk of its funds, has no control. It was established as a result of a merger of three privately-endowed reference libraries, the Astor, the Lenox and the Tilden Trust, and its board of trustees, almost without exception, is composed of bankers and corporation lawyers whose interest in libraries is so slight that there is seldom a quorum at its meetings. Typical of the present trustees are J P Morgan, Junius Morgan, W Vincent Astor, John M Schiff, Myron C Taylor.

The board of trustees administers the income from the \$40,000,000 endowment fund and millions of dollars supplied each year by the city. When Andrew Carnegie built branch libraries in NY he stipulated that they be run by the same board of trustees. The results have been inevitable: censorship of books, inaugurated when the late Cardinal Hayes was a trustee, continued under Archbishop Spellman; expenditure of large sums on rare books used only by scholars while not enough new books were bought for the general reference rooms; gradual restriction of the library's service to the public.

Lewis Speech Ignored

THE same week as the NY bus strike, involving 3500 workers, John L Lewis presented the demands of 600,000 miners at the Appalachian Joint Wage Conference. Lewis, the most important US labor leader, had made no public statement for three months, while newspaper columnists and radio commentators speculated about what he thought of the spectacular changes taking place in America. Lewis's demands (\$1 a day increase, 200 day annual guarantee, seniority, better safety conditions) were accompanied by an important statement from which these are quotes:

"The coal miner is just as much entitled to proper fuel and care as any other machine used in national defense."

"The mine workers hold that the defense of America and defense of democracy here in our own country is the best defense and treatment of those men to whom you look to defend the title to your property and the privileges you enjoy."

"If we are to face the hard realities of our economic status in the days to come, then American industry and American political thought should decide now that equally important as munitions is the future welfare of the American people."

The Times, which usually prints the full text of Lewis speeches, only used a few quotes about wage statistics. The HT ran the story, with the same quotes, on page 13. The Post, Sun, Telegram, Journal printed short stories without quoting Lewis. The Mirror didn't print the story at all.

The reason: that was the day Dies attacked the bus strikers.

For Writers Only

BOOK publishers and writers are shy on the subject of book reviewers: publishers are afraid this powerful group will damn all their books if they protest

and most writers who get an unfair deal hope for something better in the future. Theater and movie critics are free from venality, but many newspapers suppress reviews, farm out books to prejudiced people, and smear progressive books without regard to merit.

If enough writers who are victims of venal brasscheck-polishing book critics will send in incontrovertible documentation, IN FACT will publish it, naming names and newspapers.

J P Morgan, Colliers, the Duce

ABOUT 6 months ago Colliers revived the old falsehood about Mussolini saving Italy from Bolshevism—a myth the J P Morgan Co (which is represented on the board of directors of Colliers) invented in 1925 when it floated the \$100,000,000 Italian bonds in New York. In 1921 Mussolini himself wrote that there was no Bolshevism in Italy. A year later he seized the government and abolished the labor unions and all civil rights. But J P Morgan & Co, Dillon Read & Co and other bankers made money supporting fascism, and their newspapers and magazines boosted Mussolini and fascism until the Autumn of 1941 when America began preparing for war on Mussolini.

On Feb 15 1941 Colliers editorially attacked its previous hero, Mussolini. By then it was evident that the Morgan bonds were not worth saving.

Facts for Senator Wheeler

IN one of his speeches against HR 1776 Senator Wheeler declared: "The international bankers of the US . . . were joining with their friends, the Royal Refugees and the Sassoons of the Orient and the Warburgs and the Rothschilds. . . ."

This line of talk was pure Hitlerism and Coughlinism. Its implication was entirely false. Charged with falling for Nazi propaganda, Sen Wheeler said, "I have repeatedly called attention to the fact that the Morgans and the Chase and other international bankers and particularly Tom Lamont . . . have been promoting what I believe is involvement in the European war. . . . Anyone who makes a speech about the danger of this country getting into war is denounced as a Nazi or anti-Semitic."

The documentary evidence, produced by the Nye-Vandenberg committee, is that the American bankers headed by J P Morgan & Co pushed the US into World War I.

The Warburgs, according to Ambassador Dodd, tried to make a deal with Hitler.

Mussolini's Fascism was made possible by the Milan bankers, chief of whom was a Jew named Toeplitz, head of Banca

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White House, Poll Tax Congressmen, Newspapers, Unite in Attack to Nullify Labor's Gains

FOR 10,000,000 Americans in organized labor, millions who compose their families, and additional millions of Americans who profit by the fact that unions exist, the biggest news today is the attack being made by the White House, certain Congressmen, the Dies Committee, and almost all the newspapers in the nation to smash the labor movement.

Labor conferences and the labor press are devoted largely to discussing the following attacks on labor:

1. The attempt by poll-tax Congressmen to pass a forced labor bill.
2. The movement to restore the First World War Labor Board.
3. Attempt to weaken the Wagner Act.
4. Introduction in state legislatures of so-called anti-sabotage bills which in reality are anti-labor bills.
5. Movement to outlaw strikes, as in fascist countries.

Labor's Side of the Defense Story

Labor's side of the present conflict would require hundreds of thousands of words. Here are a few significant facts in illustrating the seriousness of the situation:

1. President Murray of the CIO, Secretary Carey, 6 vice-presidents, issued a statement expressing absolute opposition to all laws restricting the right to strike, outlawing union shops, emasculating Wagner Act.
2. President Green and AFL heads issued a statement expressing opposition to anti-strike or compulsory arbitration legislation. They favored labor board, which CIO leaders oppose.
3. AFL and CIO united in Chicago to defeat anti-labor bills in Illinois legislature, notably the Woodward bills which "remove guarantees of Bill of Rights."
4. To counteract the universal propaganda in 90 or 99% of the nation's press against the right to strike, the CIO Economic Outlook issued a statement showing:

- (a) In 1940 one-tenth of one day was lost by each worker because of strikes.
- (b) Five days were lost by each workman because of industrial accidents, most of which could be prevented by employers.
- (c) Eight days were lost by each workman because of illness.

The commercial press did not play up this story. The American Guardian said that 90% of the press did not print it; library search shows that 98% is nearer correct.

The Ultimate Step: Forced Labor

Labor, notably the CIO, aims to extend its gains in the present emergency. World War I promised democracy but brought death and misery to millions of working men and profits to big business. Labor believes that more democracy should be part of its pay in this war.

On the other hand it is aware that conscription of labor, now being adopted by Bevin in England, is not beyond possibility here. Three of Atty General Robert Jackson's assistants, Francis Hoague, Russell M Brown and Philip Marcus, investigated the matter in the Harvard Law Review.

Their conclusions boil down to three points (according to CIO News):

1. Compulsory labor is not limited to dictatorships. It is essential to democracies as well.
2. Compulsory labor "certainly suspends traditional freedoms" and "results in the curtailment of a number of labor's hard-won rights."
3. The phrase "labor conscription" has "become an epithet rather than a definitive term . . . such phrases should not be allowed to becloud the issue."

The investigators cite World War I to show need of forced labor now. They show how obstacles in the Constitution can be overcome:

"As the experience of the World War indicates, slight notice is given to constitutional technicalities in time of stress. Any further or more detailed discussion of the constitutional aspects of federal control of labor would seem especially quixotic at this time." Labor support, however, is needed. They advocate "propaganda, making the employe feel that the government is alive to his needs, and the initiation of a system rewarding the worker with some token of distinction are means of bolstering flagging morale."

Social gains made by labor would be set aside, union contracts would be ignored, closed shop agreements would end, minimum hour laws for women and children, state child labor laws, would be set aside under a conscript labor act.

Rep Sam Hobbs of Alabama was elected to Congress by 11,115 voters in his district who were sufficiently well-to-do to pay the \$1.50 cumulative poll tax. He is one of the stalwarts of the hidebound House Judiciary Committee, which is now holding hearings on anti-labor bills. Hobbs himself is the author of a bill providing concentration camps for aliens.

Last week, after taking the testimony of ex-Ambassador William Bullitt, that "the nation as a whole must work harder if it is to ward off the disaster which overtook France," Hobbs let it be known to a NYTimes reporter that recent strikes had "resulted in a revival of consideration of legislation to draft labor during the emergency." The Times, pleased to be given an exclusive, put it on p 1:

"LABOR DRAFT GAINS HOUSE GROUP FAVOR AS CURB ON STRIKES."

Sam Hobbs and the Times were dissatisfied with the anti-labor provisions of the Draft Act, which were opposed by all branches of organized labor. Articles prepared jointly by the Law Reviews of Yale, Harvard and Columbia have noted that the government keeps control of workers even after their year of service:

"The power to call out reservists might conceivably . . . be used as an indirect but effective way of silencing activities objectionable to the government or the army. Those who have served their year under the selective service act are liable to be recalled at the discretion of the President under existing or future laws for the calling to active duty of reserve units."

Premier Daladier's government in France used this means to smash a strike of railroad workers just after Munich.

There are plenty of "Work or Fight" precedents from American experience. In 1917 Woodrow Wilson broke a strike by the International Assn of Machinists at Remington Arms and Liberty Ordnance by threatening that if they didn't go back to work "the draft boards would be instructed to reject any claims of exemption based upon usefulness in war production," and they would be black-listed by the US Employment Service, which controlled most jobs in heavy industry. Two months later the War Dept smashed a lumber strike in the Pacific Northwest by sending in 4000 troops as strikebreakers. When draft classification is completed by local draft boards sometime next summer, every civilian of draft age will have a deferred status which can be cancelled automatically in case of strikes. Anyone who claims deferment as a necessary worker in a necessary industry must file an affidavit from his employer, who is not likely to consider him necessary if he is a good union man.

Two weeks ago the head of a Brooklyn draft board wrote the Hearst Daily Mirror suggesting the manipulation of the Draft Act to put an end to strikes. The Mirror approved the suggestion. The same thing has occurred to other anti-labor papers: during the Vultee airplane strike the Los Angeles Times ran an editorial headed "Draft the Strikers!" When the aircraft workers voted to strike at the Ryan Aeronautical plant in San Diego the chairman of the San Diego draft board said he would have "no sympathy with defense workers who struck" and warned that they would be reclassified if they walked out. The company settled before the workers could see if he was bluffing.

Roosevelt, Knudsen and Knox in Anti-Labor Move

Secretary of Navy Frank Knox has issued an order "freezing" shipyard wages so that owners can continue to make millions. The Christian Science Monitor reported that the notorious Republic Steel chairman Tom Girdler publicly advocated freezing wages exactly 17 days before Knox gave the order.

Wm Knudsen testified to House Judiciary committee Feb 19 against laws curbing strikes; Knudsen on Feb 28 reversed himself and proposed drastic anti-labor curbs. The NY CIO Council March 6 telegraphed House Judiciary Com that "Knudsen's proposals mean forced labor . . . virtually legalize strikebreaking . . . practices abhorrent to every American."

Roosevelt on March 4 denounced an "erroneous impression" produced by certain newspaper writers and publishers: "It is a pity," he said, "that many people have been led to believe labor disputes are interfering seriously with production." Actually only 1/400th of defense industry has ever been affected, he said.

One of the worst offenders was the NYTimes. It gave big headlines to obscure strikes, using the daily round-up of strike news by anti-labor United Press. When FDR attacked the press for its strike coverage, the Times and Herald Tribune buried the story. The News didn't touch it, the Mirror buried two paragraphs. The Times then ran editorial questioning Roosevelt's figures. Complete documentation was given Times by Sec'y of Labor Perkins, but it used this as a letter to the editor, not as news.

Readers may judge Times honesty or dishonesty from fact that when Roosevelt, like Knudsen, reversed himself and criticized jurisdictional strikes Times used a 4-col headline, "PRESIDENT DEPLORES DEFENSE STRIKES," on page 1.

After this complete reversal, the President came out for a War Labor Board. CIO President Murray denounced it. It was such a board which weakened unions, crippled labor movement in World War I.

REASON ENOUGH !

Heywood Broun once said, "I have heard many publishers talk about the freedom of the press. . . . They mean the freedom of a newspaper to print what it pleases and throw away the rest. They have said that a free press was the greatest protection of America against fascism, but we have not got a free press." That's reason enough to fight for it: the fight for a free press is a big part of the fight to protect America against fascism. Join the Winter Soldier Brigade for a 1/4 million circulation. For every four NEW 50¢ subscriptions or eight new 25¢ subscriptions to IN FACT you send in, you will receive a copy of YOU CAN'T DO THAT by George Seldes, absolutely free. YOU CAN'T DO THAT is a 300-page book on violations of civil liberties in the US. It names names, dates and places and is fully documented.

Commerciale. The majority were Catholics.

Bankers, whether Episcopalian like Morgan, or Jewish like Toeplitz, or Protestants or Catholics are always on the side of the fascist movement.

Facts About American Banks

OF 919 members of NY Stock Exchange 148 were Jews in 1936; of 420 Clearing House directors, 30 were Jews; only one Jewish firm, Kuhn Loeb, did substantial business in foreign loans; Kuhn Loeb March 1 1935 had 2.88% of the total, compared with National City's 11.71% and Morgan's 19.87%. (Documentation, Fortune magazine; Rev N D Fletcher in Protestant Digest.) Poor's Register of Directors, 1934, listed 80,000 corporation directors, of whom 3,825 or 4.8% were Jews.

Officially at War

"THE enactment of the lease-lend bill puts the U S economically, morally and officially in the war. . . . We were in the war as deeply as now when we amended the neutrality law to keep out of the war in 1939," said William Allen White, March 11.

Press and Cold Cures

THE government's investigation of advertised cold cures continues. Newspapers continue to publish advertisements for products which are either useless or harmful. The press, as in all things, is on the side of profits, rather than human welfare.

The American Medical Association Journal states that "present day medical opinion supports the view that there is no known substance or mixture of substances that can be relied on to prevent or cure colds. . . . Now that the Food and Drug Administration has determined to review the claims made it will be exceedingly interesting to watch the changes in the claims." (Chicago Daily News gave good space to story; most papers suppressed it.)

For a hundred years the newspapers of America have fooled the American people about patented medicines. Now comes the arch-hypocrite of newspaperdom, Editor & Publisher, with a big hurrah article about flu and cold ads (Feb 8). It reproduces sample ad for Mistol Drops which was headlined "When an Epidemic Threatens." Mistol is a product of Rockefeller's Standard Oil, a big advertiser.

Other advertisers who are praised for exploiting the flu epidemic are named by Editor & Publisher as: Lysol, Lever Bros. Lifebuoy—Lever is one of Britain's biggest Hitlerites—Vick and Musterol.

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